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Germans in Pennsylvania

AN ADDRESS

*BEFORE THE DEUTSCHE PIONIER-VEREIN,
APRIL 27, 1893,*

BY

Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, L. L. D.

Descendant of Hendrick Pannebecker, Abraham Op den Graeff, Cornelius Tyson, Paul Kuster,
Hendrick Sellen, Hans Peter Umstat and Peter Conrad,
early settlers of Germantown.

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The Germans in Pennsylvania.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

When I received the card inviting me to be present upon this occasion, I found announced upon it that a paper was to be read. I regret to say that I have no such paper. It is my purpose to speak to you about the Germans in a very informal way. I should not venture to do so, were it not for the fact that I sometimes think it is more agreeable to an audience, as well as to a speaker, to use this freedom, and because I feel a certain familiarity with the subject about which I am going to talk to you.

The inquiry is certainly one of importance. When a Philadelphian gets outside of his native State he is known as a Philadelphia Quaker, but when a Pennsylvanian goes abroad he is invariably regarded as a Pennsylvania Dutchman. The race which has thus been able to fix its characteristics upon the whole Commonwealth is certainly one worthy of attention and it is of importance to us to recall the facts with respect to their coming here and their work afterwards.

At the outset it may be said for the Germans that they originated the movement which led to the colonization of Pennsylvania. About the year 1520, in the mountains of Switzerland, among the members of the congregation that were followers of Zwinglius, there arose a sect of men who got it into their heads at that time that there ought to be a complete severance of the relations of Church and State. They taught the doctrine that men ought not to fight; that they ought not to administer oaths; that they should live in peace with their fellows and in accordance with the injunctions of the New Testament. Coming as they did, through the doctrine of the severance of Church and State, into conflict with both of these organizations, they were most severely persecuted. Their doctrines, mingled as it must be admitted with some delusions,

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spread rapidly over Europe. The smoke from their burning bodies, because they were frequently put to the stake, rose to the heavens all along the Rhine. In the city of Antwerp alone there were more of these people put to death because of their religious views than there were of the Protestant martyrs in all England during the time of Bloody Mary.

One of the tenets of these people was that a child ought not to be baptised. As a result of this view they baptised adults a second time when they came into their church. For that reason they were given the name of Anabaptists. After a long series of persecutions Menno Simons, the reformer of the Netherlands, gathered them in to a more certain church government, and from his name of Menno they became known as the Mennonites.

Another of the leaders of the Anabaptists was Caspar Schwenkfeld, of Silesia. Schwenkfeld was perhaps the purest outcome of the Reformation. Most of the men who were active and prominent in that movement were men who came from the lower orders of society. Like most revolutionists they were people not of high social position at the time, but Schwenkfeld was a nobleman. To read his writings is to be inspired with the instincts of peace and good will to men. He was opposed to warfare, to the taking of oaths, and moreover, he undertook to set aside the sacraments. In his view these observances were spiritual and not physical. He administered no baptism and he taught that the letter of the Scriptures was dead and the inner light was sufficient for the guidance of all men.

This, as you see, was exactly the doctrine which was later taught by the Quakers of England. It so happened that in the early part of the Sixteenth Century some Englishmen driven out of England went over to Amsterdam and there set up a meeting, which became ecclesiastically associated with the Mennonites in that city. After remaining for a few years they came back to England and there established in England the first Baptist Churches. This was the way in which the doctrines of Menno and Caspar Schwenkfeld were introduced into England.

Robert Barclay, a descendant of Robert Barclay of Ury, a noted Quaker writer, several years ago made a thorough study of this subject and published a book which he called "The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," and in

that work he traces with great care and skill the introduction of these views into England.

The effect in England was quite considerable. The English had that dread of the Anabaptists which had existed abroad. As I go along this evening in my address to you I shall occasionally refer to some original authority which I have brought with me, believing that it will be of interest to you to see some of these old publications, and of benefit to have before you the authority for the views I express.

I have here two or three of the pamphlets which appeared in England at the time or about the time of the introduction of these Anabaptist doctrines. One of these is called "England's Warning by Germany's Woe, or an Historical Narration of the Original Tenets, Names and the Several Sects of the Anabaptists in Germany and the Low Countries," published in London in 1646. Another is "A short History of the Anabaptists of High and Low Germany," published in London in 1647. I have here also a work written by John Brown in reply to Robert Barclay, whose apology for the Quakers is the leading authority upon that subject, in which he attacks the doctrines of the Quakers, entitling his book, "Quakerism, the Pathway to Paganism." He says: "And how dangerous an error this is, undermining the very cardinal points of Christianity, every true Christian may know. The Quakers in this are only what their predecessors the old Anabaptists, were." And again, "What have we then to do with the Quakers teachings and writings? This is no new thing, it was the doctrine of the old Anabaptists. What would our Quaker now say? He sideth with Schwenckfeld and would have the outward part wholly laid aside".

This is contemporary existing evidence to show what was thought of the Quakers by the people around them at the time. It is not surprising then that William Penn when he made his journeys to Germany and to Holland, as he did upon three several occasions, entered into communication with these Anabaptist sects, and that they finding their own views brought home to them should some of them have been converted. Nor is it surprising that when William Penn founded his province in Pennsylvania he should have extended a cordial invitation to these people to unite their fortunes with his and come to the

province which he had established. As might have been expected, the first German emigrants to Pennsylvania were of the members of these Sects. In June, 1683, some thirteen men with their families, consisting of thirty-three persons, came to Philadelphia and at that time made a settlement at Germantown, establishing the town there. These people were in the main Mennonites or the converts which had been made by the Quakers from the Mennonites. They came generally from two towns abroad, one of them Crefeld, which is now a large city of one hundred thousand people upon the lower Rhine, with extensive manufactories of silk, the outgrowth of the art of weaving, introduced there generations ago by the Mennonites just as they introduced weaving into Germantown.

A few years later than the emigration from Crefeld came a number of emigrants from the town of Kriegsheim, a little village up the Rhine in the Palatinate some seven or eight miles from Worms. That town of Kriegsheim is one whose name ought to be well known to us, for it is still preserved at Germantown, in a tract of country called Cresheim and a creek which recalls this little village in the Palatinate.

Some three years ago it was my pleasure to pay a visit both to Crefeld and Kriegsheim. At Crefeld I undertook to find (I had but half a day there) a man named Scheuten. I had learned some years ago that in the city of Crefeld was preserved a manuscript genealogy written some two hundred years ago, and I was anxious to see it. Taking up the directory, I looked over the names of Scheuten and selecting one I went to his business place, and found him to be a merchant, doing business on one of the main streets of the town, whose name I now do not recollect. I went up into his counting-room and asked for Mr. Scheuten. He presently appeared and in as good German as I was able to muster I gave him to understand that I was looking out for this manuscript of which I had heard. He looked at me for a moment and said to me: "Are you looking after some estate?" I told him no, I was only interested historically and genealogically in the subject. "Well" said he, "you are the first American I have ever seen who was not looking for money". He then went back into his counting room and unlocking his safe drawer produced before me the identical manuscript. I spent an hour or two looking over it and was able to find there the pedigree of the

Op den Graeffs, three of the first settlers of Germantown and of some of the other people in Pennsylvania traced back to about the date of 1450 and to the town of Kempen, which was the birthplace of that noted theologian Thomas A. Kempis.

On going up the Rhine I also, as I said to you, visited Kriegsheim. It is a little typical German rural village, with one street running through the town, and perhaps having some two or three hundred inhabitants.

Many of the early Quaker preachers, including William Penn, went to this little village in the early days to talk to the meeting there. I was anxious to see the place where William Penn had preached, and on inquiring of some of the men whom I met, could learn nothing about it. They said however there was a certain wise old man in the town who, if the information existed, could give it to me. They went eagerly with me to show me this sage. They took me to the village inn, went back into the inn yard and in the stable found the man we sought. Beside being the wiseacre of Kriegsheim it appeared he was the town gauger, and in this stable were two rows of barrels or hogsheads containing wine, and he was just about to make his rounds among them. Upon telling him my errand he took a glass, filled it from one of the hogsheads and offered it to me. As a matter of courtesy I accepted. He then went to the next hogshead, filled up the glass again, and tendered that also. I looked over the two rows and counting some twenty-four hogsheads I concluded that my judicial reputation required me to stop the enthusiasm of the old gentleman, and so getting hold of him we went out of the inn-yard and he led me to the place where he said William Penn had preached. The house has long been torn down, but I had the advantage of seeing the locality at least.

After the emigration of 1683 the next great movement of Germans to Pennsylvania, were of the people from the Upper Rhine, the Palatinate and from Switzerland, also Mennonites, who in 1709 settled in Lancaster County. In 1718 came the Dunkards. The Dunkards are also a sect of the Anabaptists but differ from the Mennonites mainly in the fact that they immerse persons taken into the church, and they immerse them three times. These Dunkards, who have become now quite numerous among the Germans, or a branch of them, established at Ephrata,

in Lancaster County, that remarkable monastic community about which I shall have more to say to you perhaps in the course of the evening.

About 1709 or 1710 there was a great influx of Germans, mainly from the Palatinate and chiefly comprising Lutherans and Reformed. They went first to London in the time of Queen Anne, and from there some went to Ireland, some remained in England, but a great many of them emigrated to Western New York and made a settlement in that State. But becoming dissatisfied with New York, about 1717 they came down into Berks County in Pennsylvania to the neighborhood of Tulpehocken and took up lands there.

It has often been regarded as remarkable that the people of Lancaster County should differ in their views of public affairs so radically from the people of Berks County. It has generally been found in all of our political contests that the people of Lancaster County vote overwhelmingly on one side and the people of Berks County about to the same extent on the other. The reason of it goes away back to the time of the settlement. They were, as you see, a different stock of Germans. The people of Lancaster County being peace people and Mennonites, the people of Berks County being German Reformed and Lutherans, who believed in fighting and contending for their rights. They differed in the politics of the Colonial time and they have differed down to the present.

In 1734 the Schwenkfelders came to Pennsylvania and they have been among the best citizens of this State. I told you of Caspar Schwenkfeld and his views. They probably were unadapted and ill-suited to the people in Germany. At all events after being harried about the Continent for many years finally in 1734 the people emigrated to Pennsylvania, and settled in what was then Philadelphia but is now Montgomery County. They began their life here with a very impressive and remarkable observance. I have heard of many sects, from the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock in the North to the Huguenots of Carolina in the South, who came to America to escape from religious persecutions, but of them all I know of but one sect which when they got here, set apart a day to express their thanks for their deliverance.

The Schwenkfelders, as soon as they reached Pennsylvania, in the thankfulness of their hearts, determined that for all time to come they would observe the twenty-fourth day of September as a Gedächtniss-Tag. They have kept up that observance ever since and doubtless will for the future. Upon the twenty-fourth day of every September they meet in their meeting-houses and spend the whole day in religious service, generally having a sermon somewhat historical in the morning with prayer and singing, and they adjourn at noon and eat their bread and butter and apple butter, and then in the afternoon have a renewal of the service, returning home in the evening. I know of nothing more interesting for one of you to do than upon some twenty-fourth day of September go up to their meeting house in Montgomery County and learn something of their ways and their views.

In 1740 came the Moravians under Count Zinzendorf who settled at Bethlehem and Nazareth in this state and at Lititz in Lancaster County. The Moravians were as a general thing, men of considerable learning. They established schools early and it was said by Mr. Paine, in his "Universal History and Geography", which was published in New York in 1799, that the Moravian schools were at that time the best in the country.

The Moravians, unlike most of the Protestant sects, have had a great deal of influence over the Indians. Their missionaries early made many converts among the Indians, being very successful in that direction, and most of our knowledge of the Indian languages, of the philology of those people, comes from the investigations of the Moravians, Heckewelder and Zeissberger.

These were the religious emigrations to Pennsylvania of the Germans. From about 1727, the people from up the Rhine came over in great numbers. They belonged to all religious sects. At that time very largely the religious character of the emigration was lost, the people coming for other reasons and from other motives.

In 1728 some 6,000 emigrants came over. It was said in 1750 that there was great danger of the whole Province of Pennsylvania becoming Germanized, and in 1799 the same authority whom I have cited, Paine, says that the Germans constituted about one-fourth of the population.

Of course in the time which I have to talk to you this evening, it will be out of the question for me to go much into detail. I have now endeavored to describe to you the lines of emigration. I shall go on to say something about the character of the people, and in the first place I want to speak about them in a literary sense, with respect to their culture and their productiveness in the way of books.

Among the first emigrants to Germantown, which as I have said to you was founded in 1683, there were several men of more than ordinary culture. Francis Daniel Pastorius, who has been regarded as the leading spirit in the colony, was the agent of the Frankfort Land Company, made up of a number of men of great learning and influence in Germany. Pastorius read and wrote in the German, the Dutch, the Greek, the Latin, the Spanish, the French and the English languages. He produced after coming here quite a number of books. Among them was a scientific work which he called his Four Treatises. It had an imprint, Germanopolis, meaning Germantown, but was doubtless printed abroad in the year 1690. Although before that time the English had produced a few almanacs here and some controversial literature, this may be said to have been the first serious work written in Pennsylvania. He also wrote a work called "Umständige Geographische Beschreibung der Provintz Pensylvaniæ", an account of the colony, the first edition of which appeared in 1692, and also a large manuscript, still preserved, called The Bee. A bee-hive it really is containing notes of information upon many subjects in a large folio. A number of other books which we know that he wrote have been lost. He was a University graduate and before coming here had publicly disputed with the scholars there upon many of the platforms of Europe. He was a lawyer. Thinking it would possibly interest you, I have brought with me the thesis he wrote at the time that he graduated in law. It is written in Latin and dated in 1676. This is the only copy of it known to be in existence and is his own individual copy. At the end of the thesis he wrote an anagram in Latin upon the names of his father and his mother and upon his own name.

But beside Pastorius was Jacob Telner, one of the founders of Germantown, a man who by the records is shown to have had a library and to have written a treatise upon some subject printed

at the time. Johannes Kelpius, known as the hermit of the Wissahickon, and Henry Bernhardt Koster, were men of learning in the law, whose lives you will find in the Encyclopedias of that period in Germany. Daniel Falkner, who is styled a professor, also produced a book descriptive of Pennsylvania, and John Henry Sprogell, who became the final owner of all the remaining lands of the Frankfort Land Company was the son of a Bishop, who was the head of a University at Quedlinburg, and also the nephew of the great Gottfried Arnold, who wrote the "Kirchen und Ketzler Historie", a book in three volumes, regarded at that time as the leading authority in church history and which has preserved its reputation down to the present time.

I refer to these men only as individual instances of people of learning who came among the early Germans. But the literary reputation of the Germans does not depend upon their individual efforts. It is indicated by the flood of books which were produced here at the printing houses. In 1738 Christopher Sower established at Germantown the first German printing house, and there during the last century I suppose were printed 250 books. I do not think that number is exaggerated because I have myself about 200 of them. The first bit of printing which he did was a broadside, on a folio sheet which appeared in 1738. In looking at it you see what is absolutely the first piece of German printing done in America. Of that broadside there are two copies in existence so far as known, the one you see and the other is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

While I cannot attempt to go into details, I may mention a few of the productions of the Sower press, which may be said to be typical or remarkable. He produced in 1764 the first religious magazine in America. In 1743 Sower brought out an edition of the Bible, which was the first appearance of the Bible in a European language in America. He published another edition in 1763, and being thankful to the Lord for having enabled him to successfully complete this great work, he thought he could show his spirit in no better way than in the circulation, without charge, of a magazine devoted to religious matters. He called it a "Geistliche Magazien" and it ran through about two volumes. Here is one number of it and this is interesting, because in addition to the fact of its being our earliest religious magazine he

has put a note at the end, which, if you will pardon my German, I will read to you: "Gedruckt mit der ersten Schrift die jemals in America gegossen worden", that is, "Printed with the first type which had ever been founded in America."

Another book from the Sower press was Christopher Dock's "Schul Ordnung". Christopher Dock was a school teacher who taught part of the time in Germantown and part of the time upon the Skippack Creek in Philadelphia County. In 1750 he wrote an essay upon school teaching, a description of the country school of the time and described his methods of teaching. It was printed by Sower twenty years later in 1770. That is the first American essay on school teaching.

The Bible, as published by Sower, appeared in German three times before ever there was an English Bible printed in America, and the Testament appeared in German seven times before ever there was an English Testament printed in America. Wherever there was a German settlement the printing press followed. At Ephrata in 1745 they began to print in the monastery. In the last century about one hundred books came from that press at Ephrata, and among them is one to which I want to call your attention.

Van Bracht, a Dutchman, had written a work called "Märtyrer Spiegel", an account of the Martyrs of the Mennonite Church, which is the great historical and biographical book of that sect. They wanted the book here in America and they wanted it in German. They consequently prevailed upon Peter Miller, who was the Prior at Ephrata, to translate it from the Dutch to the German, appointing two of their members, Dieluan Kolb and Henry Funk to supervise it and they had it published there in 1749. A copy of this book belonging to the German Society is here. As you see it is an immense folio of fifteen hundred leaves, bound in boards, with brass corners and brass clasps. It took fifteen men three years to do the printing, binding and other work upon that book. It is the greatest and most important literary outcome of the American colonies. There is nothing to compare to it with respect to the magnitude of the enterprise anywhere else during that period in America.

Another publication of Sower to which I want to call your attention is the one I have here in my hand. You have all heard that Robert Raikes first started Sunday Schools in 1780.

In this box are 381 tickets, printed by Christopher Sower in Germantown in 1744. Each of these tickets contains a religious verse and a selection from the Scriptures, and upon Sunday afternoons the children met in the meeting-houses and in their homes and drew these cards from the boxes, reading to each other the mottos they contained. That is a publication practically unknown and of very great interest.

At Lancaster they began to print also very early, and at Reading. I suppose to those of you who are at all familiar with the subject, the town of Reading, while a prosperous and enterprising town, is regarded as a sort of Bœotia. I know it is so considered by many people outside, and yet in the town of Reading, beginning with the year 1789, and through the next fifty years, there were published in German at least one hundred books; books in science and in theology and in poetry, and upon the various subjects which interest men. What is true of the east is also true of the west. The first time that the Bible and the Testament appeared west of the Rocky Mountains in this country, they were published by Goeb at Somerset in 1814.

In other ways the culture of the Germans appears. The first American bibliography that I know of is a catalogue of the books of the Schwenkfelders, which was written in the last century. This copy, which I have here, was made in 1777 and contains an account of the Schwenkfelder authors and the books written by them.

William Rittenhouse, who came to Germantown in 1688, established on the Wissahickon Creek the earliest paper mill in America, and his grandson, David Rittenhouse, beginning life as a clockmaker, subsequently became the noted American astronomer, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and in 1769 gave us approximately a correct measurement of the distance from the sun to the earth. Of him Thomas Jefferson said: "He has not indeed made a world but he has by imitation approached nearer to its Maker than any other man who has lived from the creation to this day".

The example of Rittenhouse has been followed in recent days, and away out in the western part of this continent, upon one of the highest peaks of the Sierras, stands the largest telescope in existence in the world, erected there by James Lick, a Pennsylvania Dutchman, from Lebanon County in our State.

At Ephrata they established a system of music. In the preface to the "Turtel Taube", published in 1747, Conrad Beisel wrote a description of that system of music; doubtless such a description as would enable you who are musicians to understand it. My own knowledge of music is so limited that I can say nothing upon the subject except that the music was of the most attractive kind and that all of the early travelers to America visited Ephrata as one of the objects to be seen on this side of the Atlantic, and that they all have to tell of the peculiar and interesting music they there heard. So far as I know this is our first attempt to give an artistic description of music.

Now, I shall say a few words about the art of the Germans. Necessarily it was more or less crude in its characteristics. In every German household, a hundred years ago, in Pennsylvania, there was what was called a *Vorschrift*. The only collection of these *Vorschriften* I know of, I will show you. They comprised in the main selections from the Scriptures, with sometimes verses added, and were ornamented with scrolls, flowers and birds.

At Ephrata the sisters in the cloister preserved the art of illumination. Here is one of the music books, containing the music to one of their hymn books, and as you will see, it is illustrated with pen and color work all of the way through. Each ornamental letter here has a distinct flower connected with it, and many of the pages are quite handsomely ornamented.

They early endeavored to illustrate their almanacs by rude engravings. Here is a portrait of Wolfe, engraved for Sower's Almanac at the time of the capture of Quebec, and here is a plan of the city of Quebec, which also appeared in one of Sower's almanacs about the same period.

Sower had with him in his employ, a young man named Justus Fox, who made an attempt to cut in metal a representation of a sheep. Justus Fox was the ancestor of Daniel M. Fox, one of the late Mayors of Philadelphia. This sheep, a monstrosity, born somewhere in the neighborhood, attracted their attention. Justus Fox thought that he would try to see whether he could not reproduce the sheep for the benefit of the readers of the almanac. What troubled him most was to represent the fleece, the wool. The story is that one night he ran upstairs and awakened Sower in a great hurry, saying, "At last I have the wool, I have got the wool." He had succeeded in representing

the wool in such a way as he thought would answer the purpose. I show you there the sheep which was produced by Justus Fox in the almanac of Sower of 1758.

As another specimen of work in that direction I want to call your attention to the title page of an almanac printed in 1779, in the city of Lancaster. The reason I do it is because there for the first time, so far as we can ascertain, George Washington was called the father of his country. Mr. Baker, who is our authority upon the subject of Washington and his life, known to all of us, told me that he made great efforts to learn when it was, that the Americans first began to give him that title. The earliest designation of him in that way that he could find was in a book called Hardy's Remembrancer, which appeared in 1795. I show you here the title page of this almanac, which as you see bears the imprint of 1779. We have there a representation of Fame with her trumpet. In one hand she holds a portrait, a rude cut to be sure, but so that we need make no mistake it is marked Washington. In the other hand she holds her trumpet, from whose mouth appear the words "Des Lantes Vater". It is of some consequence to you Germans, to know that you were so early to recognize the importance of that great man.

Having now talked to you about the literature of the Germans, and something about their art, I shall say a few words in regard to their interest in public affairs. The Germans have always been a law abiding people. They accept the authorities which exist and do their best to carry into effect the requirements of the law. Sometimes it may be said they go too far in that direction. I remember a story I heard some years ago when up the Shenandoah Valley, among some rebel relatives of mine. You know General Sheridan, under instructions from Grant, during the war, burned out the Shenandoah Valley completely, setting fire to every barn in it. Naturally the people in that locality resented this destruction and following the rear of the barn burners a troop of Confederates were on the watch to see whether they could not overtake and capture some of the men, engaged in doing them this great injury. I am told that some were thrown into the flames. At all events, connected with one of the Pennsylvania Regiments engaged in this work, was a little Pennsylvania Dutchman. Somehow or other he got separated from the

command and was captured by the Confederates. They were treating him very roughly, no doubt, and he turned around to them and said, "Vat you fellers goin' to do mit me, heh?" They said, "Why, damn you, we are going to take you down here and hang you." "Vell" said he, "Vat ever is de rule." The good nature and good spirit of it so wrought upon the feelings of his captors that they laughingly concluded it would never do to hang him.

Among the earliest Germans, Francis Daniel Pastorius and Abraham Op den Graeff were members of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and Pastorius and Dirck Op den Graeff were both Judges of the County Court. In 1688 four of the Germans of Germantown, Francis Daniel Pastorius, Abraham Op den Graeff, Dirck Op den Graeff and Gerhard Hendricks, presented to the Friends' Meeting a protest against the existence of slavery; urging the reasons why in their view this system was an iniquity, and why the Friends should be opposed to it and do what they could to overthrow it. This was the first public effort against the system of slavery ever made in this country.

The Quakers who founded the province maintained control of affairs in Pennsylvania down to the time of the Revolutionary War. They were enabled to keep this control through the assistance of the peace sects of the Germans, the Moravians, the Mennonites and the Dunkards.

In the French and Indian War, or during the course of events leading up to it, it became manifest that there would be a struggle in Pennsylvania for the management of affairs in the province. The French and Indians were making encroachments upon the borders and it was the policy of France to extend her fortifications down the Mississippi and to enclose the English. Naturally the English were opposed to any such effort and a collision was almost inevitable. The Quakers in Pennsylvania did not believe in War. They had gotten along with the Indians and with the people in the other colonies in the past without difficulty, and they thought they could do it still. A growing party, however, had other views and believed in arming the state. Among them was William Smith, who was Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the first Provost which that institution had. He took occasion in a pamphlet called "A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania", to accuse the Germans

of being in sympathy with the French, and of looking forward to the possibility that the French should secure possession of the country.

Smith's pamphlet, which I have with me, says: "In consequence of this the Germans who hitherto remained peaceable without meddling in elections came down in shoals and carried all before them; nearly eighteen hundred of them voted in the county of Philadelphia, which threw the balance on the side of the Quakers, though their opponents in that great struggle voted nearly five hundred more than ever lost an election before. They give out that they are a majority and strong enough to make the country their own, and indeed as they are poured in upon us in such numbers, upwards of five thousand being imported this last year, I know nothing that will hinder them from soon being able to give us law and language."

Smith accused Sower of being in league with the French and of inducing the Germans to support the Quakers in their efforts. In reply to that attack of Dr. Smith, the leading Germans of Pennsylvania drew up a paper and presented it to Governor Robert Hunter Morris, at that time Governor of the province, on the 20th of November 1754. I have the original paper here which they at that time sent to him, upon the important subject of the coming war, and the attitude of the Germans with reference to the French. They say:

"It might be possible that this our due Address would have also been intermitted at this time by reasons aforesaid, and no other, had not some Spirit we will not determin what Name to give him, 1. Reg. 22, 21, 22, accused us very publikly both here and in England, of a secret Conspirace against our King and Government, which is no small matter to Charge a Body of People with, and might perhaps be detrimental to the Nation. A very hard Charge indeed to a Number of People against which no such Accusation can be alledged with Justice, and against which in general not one single Instance can be proved of any Disloyalty much less of any Conspirace against our beloved King George and Country we live in.

This your Honour would please to observe is the only Motive and Reason that moved some of us to act in behalf of ourselves and Country Men to congratulate your Honr. publikly

on your safe Arrival to the Station of this Government at this time and not to any of your honrd. Predecessors before as above said: And being very well acquainted with the Sentiments of a considerable Number of German Protestants Inhabitants of this Province who all unanimously agree to all what is above said: excepting a few ignorant unmannerly People lately come amongst us: it makes us the more free to lay the Case thus open before your Honour.

How therefore can any man of due Reason think much less say that this same People were anyways inclined to submit themselves again under a romish Slavery upheld by a French King? To the Contrary we wish and pray, and the more at this critical Juncture of impending Danger, that God Almighty might rule our gracious King George and Parliament to find lawfull means to defeat and frustrate all unjust Designs of the French King and all other foreign Princes whatever, wherewith they intend to disturb his Majesty's Rights: And we do hereby renew all true Loyalty and Assistance or Contribution to our King and Government in such a manner as the Wisdom of your Honr. and our worthy Assembly in Legislature by the Constitutions of this Province will find needfull and expedient".

It is signed by Henry Antes, Michael Schlatter, Peter Penny-packer, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, Henry Keppele, Philip Lidich and twenty-five others.

In the Revolutionary War, Michael Hillegas was the first of our continental treasurers. As you know, the statue of Peter Muhlenberg was selected to represent the military reputation of Pennsylvania in the capitol at Washington, and Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg was the President of the first Congress under the Constitution. In the War of the Rebellion it is perhaps enough to say that the very first troops who responded to the call of the President, and who reached the city of Washington in advance of all others, were companies of Pennsylvania Dutchmen from the towns of Reading and Pottsville in the State of Pennsylvania.

There is one other subject to which, because of its great importance and because of the part the Germans of Pennsylvania took in it, I want to call your attention. Historians are now, I think, substantially agreed that the event of the greatest consequence in the early history of America was the adoption of

the Constitution. That was the creation of the Government. It was constructive and not destructive. Upon the wisdom with which the men who met in convention in 1778 solved the problems presented to them depended the future welfare and success of the United States. As to whether or not a constitution could then be adopted was a very uncertain question. For a long time there was much contention and bitterness, and after the convention had reached a result and had presented to the people of the different colonies the Constitution for adoption, it still met with the greatest opposition. Its final success, it is now admitted, was due to the fact that Pennsylvania came to its support. She was the first of the great States to accept that Constitution. When the question arose in the Pennsylvania Assembly with regard to calling a convention to consider the adoption or rejection of the Constitution, the very first effort in behalf of that Constitution came from the Germans. The Constitution was adopted in convention on the 17th of September, 1787.

On the twenty-fourth of September there was presented to the Assembly this petition: "To the Honorable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met: The petition and declaration of the inhabitants of Germantown respectfully showeth, that your petitioners having seen with great pleasure the proposed Constitution of the United States, and as they conceive it to be wisely calculated to form a perfect union of the states as well as to secure to themselves and posterity the blessings of peace, liberty and safety, they have taken this method of expressing their earnest desires that the said Constitution may be adopted as speedily as possible by the State of Pennsylvania in the manner recommended by the resolutions of the late honorable convention."

When the question of calling a convention for the adoption of the Constitution came to a vote in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, there were at that time sixty-two members, and of those sixty-two members twelve were Pennsylvania Germans, and to their everlasting honor be it said, that every one of those twelve voted in favor of the convention. Let their names be written down so that the future generations of Americans whom they have benefitted may know for all time to come who they were. The roll is Hilzheimer, Wynkoop, Upp, Carpenter, Schmyser, G. Hiester, Kreemer, J. Hiester, Trexler, Burkhalter, Antes and

Reiff. In the Pennsylvania Assembly there were forty-three votes in favor and nineteen votes against the proposition.

Have you ever stopped to consider how in the great crises in American history the people of Pennsylvania have come to the front? In all of them they have been conspicuous, in all of them they have borne well their part. In the fall of 1776 the fate of the colonies was hanging in the balance. Men who had been true to the cause were weakening in their efforts and some were going over to the enemy. The Army of Washington had been reduced to three thousand men. He had come from the Jerseys over into Pennsylvania and had expressed the thought that he would be compelled presently to retreat to the west of the Allegheny Mountains, there to make a last effort to preserve the liberties of his country. At this great crisis fifteen hundred men came to the rescue and with that addition to his forces he fought successfully the battle of Trenton and the battle of Princeton, and the tide was turned. Every one of those fifteen hundred men was a Pennsylvanian.

On the twelfth day of April, 1861, the rebels opened their fire upon the fort in Charleston harbor. Before the sun went down that day the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania had voted five hundred thousand dollars to arm the State.

You all remember what was the result of the first great conflict of arms between the north and the south, and how, after our efforts upon the battlefield of Bull Run had been unsuccessful, the President of the United States sat within the capital at Washington, expecting every moment the approach of the hostile forces and the capture of that city. And just think for a moment what would have been the result both at home and abroad. Inside of two days sixteen thousand Pennsylvanians were there to man the entrenchments and the danger disappeared.

These events in my view are not the results of chance. They are due to character. They are due to the mental and moral fibre of the race. In my judgment the prominence, in all of these great crises, of the men of Pennsylvania is largely due to the fact that along with the English who settled this province were in almost equal numbers the scions of that sturdy race who as Germans overthrew the Roman Empire, and who as Dutchmen for eighty years maintained the cause of Europe against Spain and made the England as we know her to-day a possibility.

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